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Samenvatting (artikel Schoorl: Mobility in Muyu-Culture)

- Mobiliteit was een opmerkelijke eigenschap van de traditionele Muyu cultuur.
- Migratie, die verbonden was aan die mobiliteit, was eveneens een opmerkelijke eigenschap van de traditionele cultuur. Verschillende vormen van migratie kunnen worden onderscheiden:
 - o Migratie van vrouwen naar andere verwantengroepen, lineages, door hun huwelijk.
 - o Migratie van mannen naar andere verwantengroepen vanwege conflicten binnen hun eigen lineage of in verband met de mogelijkheid om nieuwe arealen sagopalmen of tuinen te verwerven van naaste verwanten.
 - o Migratie van mannen of families naar nieuwe "open" gebieden vanwege conflicten of uit angst voor toverij of aanvallen van vijanden.
- Zo is het waarschijnlijk dat de Muyu in een vroegere migratie-beweging vanuit het Centrale Bergland naar het huidige Muyu-gebied zijn verhuisd. Deze migratie is ook aannemelijk gezien de nauwe relaties met de bevolking in de gebieden noordelijk van het Muyu-gebied.
- Gelet op de overeenkomsten en verschillen tussen de talen van de Mandobo, Muyu en Awyu volken, mogen wij veronderstellen dat de Mandobo en de Awyu nauwer met elkaar verwant zijn dan de Mandobo en Muyu. Deze veronderstelling steunt de stelling dat de Muyu zeer waarschijnlijk nauwe verwantschappelijk relaties heeft met hun noordelijke burenen.
- Stellig is er meer onderzoek speciaal gericht op de relaties tussen de omringende volken en de Muyu nodig om tot definitieve conclusies te komen.
- In de contact situatie met de moderne samenleving speelde de opmerkelijke eigenschap van mobiliteit een belangrijke rol in de opvallende schaal van migratie van de Muyu bevolking. Kennelijk maakten de Muyu enthousiast gebruik van de mogelijkheden voor migratie die ontstonden door de nieuwe situatie.
- De relatief hoge cijfers voor Muyu migratie waren ongetwijfeld verbonden met de hoge graad van mobiliteit in de Muyu samenleving. Maar aan de andere kant keken de Muyu ook uit naar de betere mogelijkheden voor het verdienen van gouvernementsgeld en het verkrijgen van geïmporteerde goederen in het eigen gebied. Die waren echter niet of schaars aanwezig in het Muyu-gebied tot in elk geval het jaar 1954.
- Indien nieuwe mogelijkheden om geld te verdienen en het verkrijgen van importgoederen zouden worden gecreëerd, dan zou de neiging tot migreren voorspelbaar lager zijn. Hoewel ook onder die omstandigheden mobiliteit en migratie een belangrijke zullen blijven spelen.

Ikhtisar (School: Mobility in Muyu-Culture)

- Mobilitas adalah ciri dominan yang menonjol di dalam kebudayaan asli orang Muyu.
- Migrasi yang berhubungan dengan mobilitas itu pun menjadi ciri kebudayaan asli. Dapat dibedakan berbagai bentuk migrasi, yaitu:
 - * migrasi wanita ke marga lain melalui perkawinan;
 - * migrasi laki-laki ke marga lain akibat perselisihan di dalam marga mereka sendiri, atau karena terdapat kesempatan memperoleh kebun atau wilayah penghasil sago yang baru dari keluarganya yang dekat;
 - * migrasi laki-laki atau keluarga-keluarga ke daerah yang baru yang masih “terbuka”, akibat konflik atau karena ancaman magi hitam ataupun serangan musuh.
- Karena mobilitas sebagai ciri yang dominan itu, sangat mungkinlah kalau terjadi gerakan migrasi orang Muyu dulu dari wilayah Pegunungan Tengah. Pola migrasi ini menjelaskan juga hubungan akrab orang Muyu dengan suku-suku di sebelah utaranya.
- Berdasarkan kesamaan dan perbedaan bahasa orang Mandobo, Muyu dan Awyu, dapat kita asumsikan bahwa hubungan kekerabatan orang Mandobo dengan orang Awyu lebih dekat daripada dengan orang Muyu. Ini pun memperkuat dugaan bahwa hubungan orang Muyu dengan dunia luar adalah dengan suku tetangganya di sebelah utara.
- Tentunya, diperlukan penelitian yang lebih lanjut, khususnya terhadap hubungan suku-suku tetangga orang Muyu, untuk mencapai kesimpulan yang lebih pasti.
- Dalam situasi kontak (dengan dunia barat) ciri mobilitas yang menonjol itu memainkan peranan yang penting dalam migrasi orang Muyu yang begitu mencolok mata. Rupanya orang Muyu gemar memanfaatkan kesempatan yang diberikan oleh suasana baru.
- Angka-angka migrasi orang Muyu yang relatif tinggi itu sudah barang tentu berkaitan dengan tingkat mobilitas yang tinggi di dalam masyarakat Muyu itu. Namun, migrasi itu juga disebabkan oleh upaya orang Muyu mencari kesempatan memperoleh uang asing dan barang-barang impor yang tidak atau hampir tidak bisa didapatkan di daerah Muyu itu, setidaknya sebelum tahun 1954.
- Seandainya diciptakan kemungkinan memperoleh uang dan barang-barang di daerah Muyu itu sendiri, dapat diramalkan bahwa kecenderungan bermigrasi tidak akan sebesar itu. Namun, begitu pun mobilitas dan migrasi tetap akan memainkan peranan yang berarti.

- for revenge, the explanation of sickness and death as being due to sorcery, and the methods of discovering who is guilty.
4. The main interest, or the cultural focus, of the Muyu, namely the orientation towards the acquisition of property – *ot* (cowrie shell) and other valuables (Schoorl 1957:125-8, 278).

There was a close connection between these four features. Mobility, one of the important features of Muyu culture, also had to do with the phenomena relating to the other features. A short description of the elements of Muyu culture and the institutions of Muyu society is necessary in order to understand the role of mobility and migration in this culture.

The most important social and economic unit was the nuclear family. It belonged to a territorial group, the patrilineage (Schoorl 1957:14). These groups were relatively small in scope. In the 45 lineages in the villages of Kawangtet and Jibi the number of members varied from 2 to 61. The lineages had no chiefs. A certain amount of influence was in the hands of the older men, who should ideally be rather wealthy. As a rule the real rich had (more) influence, as they not only could help others with their wealth, but also might hire murderers. Their influence, then, was not limited to their own lineage.

The relations which existed between people lay mainly within the network of kinship relations. One of the most important functions of these relations was their working concomitantly as trade relations. The extensive way in which kinship was reckoned was connected with this function. A dominant factor in the marriage system was the bride price, consisting of a number of cowrie shells (24-84) and other valuables. For part of the bride price, a compensation of like value was returned. However, an important part of the bride price served as compensation for rights acquired over the wife. This share enabled the Muyu to obtain another woman for the one ceded.

The Muyu had a strongly developed system of personal retaliation. Professional authorities, i.e. functionaries who adjudicated in conflicts, made decisions or even only passed judgement, were unknown. In the case of a wrong suffered or harm inflicted the individual involved took revenge himself. This often meant that the Muyu attempted to kill the offender or one of his next of kin. There were forms of reconciliation through exchange or payment of valuables. One could hire murderers to carry out retaliation.

A Muyu was dependent on his garden for an important part of his diet; there he grew bananas and tubers as principal crops. Sago came second. Sago palms were cultivated along the streams. Large acreages of sago were not to be found. Fish was not abundant. Due to relative paucity of big game, boars and cassowaries, small creatures such as locusts, lizards and mice were hunted a great deal. Pig breeding did not aim at providing

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the hilly country between the South Coast, west of the border area; 12,223 were enumerated in the total number of inhabitants of was 17,269.¹ Not all the Muyu settlements were found near New Guinea (a few villages, the exact number is not known). Men were living in Sorong who to Merauke or the Muyu area in the Muyu area in 1954 and could in the first half of 1956. The results of some academic essays were by van Baal, Galis en Koentjara-data used in this paper are thus

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Department sociology at the Free University, tererlaan 37, 1272 GB Huizen, the

meat for oneself but at obtaining cowrie money. Women occupied an important position in the economic life, such as in gardening, and above all in looking after pigs. The rights to ownership of land, gardens, sago palms and fishing waters rested with individual owners. Rights of avail (Holleman 1981) were unknown to the lineage.

The cowrie shell (*ot*) is to be considered as money among the Muyu. It served as a medium of exchange, as a standard of value and as a store of value. It constituted the most important element in the bride price. The strong bent in Muyu culture towards the acquisition of valuables, the *ot* in particular, led to the carrying on of trade on a large scale, in which the articles for trade were, among other things, piglets, pork, tobacco, bows, trinkets, stone axes, and stones and formulae with supernatural powers. Trade took place within the extensive network of kinship ties. Trading expeditions ranged up to 40 and 50 kilometres away. Pig feasts were also oriented towards the acquisition of cowrie money. At the same time these feasts functioned as markets.

The main interest of the Muyu, viz., the drive to acquire property, was also reflected in the religious aspect of Muyu culture. An essential part of the pig feasts, *atatbon*, was sacrificing the sacral pigs, *jawarawon*. The great, supernatural influence of the sacrifice secured a quick sale of pork and, consequently, a cash income. The spirits of the dead next of kin could bring about prosperity, but could also cause sickness, crop failures and difficulties in pig breeding. They attended to the correct management of money and valuables. The Muyu also had extensive access to formulae and objects with supernatural powers which were indispensable in activities such as hunting, gardening, pig breeding, war, pig feasts and trade.

In this paper I enlarge upon the role of mobility in Muyu culture and the effects of mobility upon migration in the past and 'present'. By (geographical) mobility I mean the frequent absence from the place of dwelling for rather short periods of time. By migration I mean the absence from the place of dwelling for longer periods or permanently. The boundary line between both phenomena cannot be drawn sharply. The difference may be made clearer by giving some examples. Going on trading expeditions, visiting pig feasts and staying for some time in the garden houses outside the (official) villages are classed here as forms of mobility. Staying for an indefinite time in the dwelling place of another lineage because of conflicts in one's own dwelling place, staying in Merauke or Sorong for a certain period, e.g. for one or two years or permanently, and fleeing to the other side of the border because of fear for actions of the Administration, are classed as migration. Migration could be regarded as a form of mobility, but in this paper a distinction is made between the two concepts as indicated.

The role of mobility in Muyu
Men especially were very mobile. In expeditions women accompanied men. Men made for various reasons. Expeditions to undertake journeys solely for the many journeys were

1. Visits to relatives in other villages to his/her relatives to market his products, invite them to settle previous transactions. Networks were enmeshed in a network of debts to pay and many debts to collect for these expeditions, and one visit other dwelling.
2. Attendance at funerals to show condolence. To show respect was also important to avoid conflicts. One could actually be the murderer or could have hired someone for this, e.g. not paying a debt or payment. Another purpose was to collect a debt which the deceased had no bookkeeping, or an outstanding debt from the deceased.
3. Attendance at pig feasts to trade relations, Muyu to slaughter a pig. The organizer traded with and on the occasion a pig would be bought and sold. The payment at the feast organizers could dispose of. Usually the organizer had a relative whom he invited. An invitation to the feast and trade relations would be established in markets where goods were sold. One did not necessarily know of the feasts in the company of

Several institutions in Muyu were for men especially. The most

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The role of mobility in Muyu culture

Men especially were very mobile in Muyu society. But on certain occasions women accompanied their husbands on their trips. Journeys were made for various reasons. But I got the impression that Muyu also liked to undertake journeys solely to experience new things. The main causes for the many journeys were:

1. Visits to relatives in other dwelling places. A Muyu paid many visits to his/her relatives to maintain trade relations. He would try to sell his products, invite them for his pig feasts or try to collect debts from previous transactions. Nearly all Muyu, men more than women, were enmeshed in a network of debt relations; he/she had many debts to pay and many debts to collect. Kinship relations were very functional for these expeditions, as only via relatives and with their help could one visit other dwelling places.
2. Attendance at funerals of relatives. This could be seen as a call of condolence. To show that one mourned the deceased relative was also important to avoid suspicion, because in principle every relative could actually be the murderer; he or she could have practised magic or could have hired someone to do this. There could be many reasons for this, e.g. not paying a debt notwithstanding many demands for payment. Another purpose for attending the funeral could be to collect a debt which the deceased had not yet paid. Because the Muyu had no bookkeeping, the funeral was the occasion to claim the outstanding debt from the next of kin of the deceased.
3. Attendance at pig feasts of other lineages. So as to maintain their trade relations, Muyu had to visit pig feasts and buy a part of a slaughtered pig. The organizers of a feast invited the relatives they traded with and on the occasion of the invitation agreed which part of a pig would be bought at the feast and how many *ot* would be paid for it. The payment at the feast was always in cash. In that way the organizers could dispose of a large amount of money after the feast. Usually the organizer had previously bought a part of a pig from the relative whom he invited. So those invited were obliged to accept the invitation to the feast and to buy a part of a pig, as otherwise their trade relations would be in jeopardy. Moreover, pig feasts were also markets where goods were sold to and bought from people who did not necessarily know each other. Usually women also visited pig feasts in the company of their husbands.

Several institutions in Muyu culture facilitated the possibility of mobility for men especially. The most important will be mentioned.

First of all, mobility was facilitated by the kinship system and the extended pattern of relations resulting from this system. The kinship system and terminology were based on the ideal of the marriage of

MoBrDa or FaSiSo. The preference for this marriage (still) existed only in the southern part of the Muyu region. The village head of Kawangtet used the system to maintain relations with the lineages of Mo, MoMo, MoMoMo, now living in four different villages. In elaborating this system, he also had a relation with MoMoMoMoSiDaDaDaSo, living in Kaikibinop, a village in the Mandobo area, which borders on the western side of the Muyu area. By tracing his relationship with FaFaBrDaDaDa he managed to obtain her as a foster child. The village head of Jibi could mention names of relatives in 49 of the then existing 71 official villages. It was said that some people were very clever at tracing kinship relations and using them for visiting far-away villages and lineages and for trading with their 'relatives'.

Secondly, we can relate the mobility of the Muyu to the salient feature of individualism in Muyu culture. As was mentioned above, by individualism I mean that Muyu had a relatively great independence with respect to the groupings to which they belonged. This individualism could be seen in the pattern of living of the Muyu. The area in which the (nuclear) families of a lineage lived, had the same name as the lineage. The houses of these families were often not built on one site, but scattered over this area. The individual families were nearly self-sufficient in their production organization. The relations with other lineages were not a concern of the lineage but of each individual family. The family head himself made the arrangements for a marriage. If necessary, he could ask for the help of other members of the lineage, but he could ask this of relatives of other lineages as well. Also in the case of a wrong suffered or harm inflicted, the individual involved took action himself.

As was mentioned before, the rights to ownership of land, gardens, sago palms and fishing waters rested with the individual owners. The lineage as a whole had no rights of *avail*, nor any authority. This is in accordance with the fact that Muyu society had no institutions, such as lineage heads or councils of elders, with authority over the other members of the lineage. Also within the family there was a rather strong emphasis on individualism. Man and wife each had their own gardens and their own possessions of shell money and other valuables. In the case of polygyny, each wife had her own garden. This individualism made it easy for the Muyu to act independently, and consequently also to travel independently.

Finally, an important institution of Muyu culture which facilitated mobility was the division of labour between husband and wife. After a man had cleared a garden large enough to support his family, his wife could take care of herself and the family. Hence a man was not strongly tied to his house.

The role of migration in Muyu culture
Migration was not an unknown phenomenon. Various forms of migration can be distinguished for various reasons and migration can be of various kinds. One kind of expansion of Muyu culture was migration to other areas.

Because of my male-biased view, I tend to ignore the important part played by other lineages when they marry their sons with men with good opportunities. They send their daughters and sisters to other areas for travelling and trading, and for other kinds of marriage system, which are not created. But for the work of migration, possibly rather far away from the home area.

The marriage system in Muyu culture if women were married to men of other lineages by marrying women of other lineages – the influence of migration on the marriage system.

Migration by men to other areas was often caused by conflicts within the lineage. From the census which I made in 1954, I know of 8 families living there before migration to Kanggim. The heads of these families and their migration to other lineages are listed below.

- No. 1. His wife was killed by a snake with his brother-in-law.
- No. 2. He had wanted to migrate but was refused. The shaman advised him to go to another lineage.
- No. 3. The village head of the lineage punished him, he migrated to his mother's lineage.
- No. 4. People, probably from another lineage, cleared a garden. His anger was so great that he migrated to another village.
- No. 5. He was afraid because of the migration to Kawangtet to live in another lineage.
- No. 6. He was also afraid because of his wife's kin.
- No. 7. He was an adopted son of another lineage. He had recently married a woman from another lineage.
- No. 8. He had lived in Kawangtet before he adopted there.

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The role of migration in Muyu culture

Migration was not an unknown phenomenon in Muyu society. Two forms of migration can be distinguished: migration to other lineages for various reasons and migration to new areas, which can be described as a kind of expansion of Muyu society and culture.

Because of my male-biased view of Muyu society, I previously tended to ignore the important phenomenon of the movement of women to other lineages when they married. Actually, this also provided Muyu men with good opportunities for mobility. For, by marrying off their daughters and sisters to other lineages, men created new opportunities for travelling and trading, or for maintaining existing relations. With this kind of marriage system, an extensive network of relations could be created. But for the women this meant migration to other lineages possibly rather far away from their own home.

The marriage system could also produce an expansion of Muyu culture if women were married off to men of other tribes. But, of course, by marrying women of other tribes – e.g., Mandobo or Ninggerum women – the influence of other cultures also penetrated Muyu culture.

Migration by men to other lineages usually happened because of conflicts within the lineage, which led to fears of sorcery or open murder. From the census which I held in Kawangtet in 1954 it appeared that 8 families living there belonged to lineages of the neighbouring village of Kanggim. The heads of these families gave the following reasons for their migration to other lineages domiciled in Kawangtet:

- No. 1. His wife was killed because he was suspected of sorcery; he lived with his brother-in-law.
- No. 2. He had wanted to marry his wife's sister, but this had been refused. The shame resulting from this caused him to move to another lineage.
- No. 3. The village head had reported him to the Administration because of his prolonged stay in his house in the forest. They punished him, he became angry with the village head, and migrated to his mother's kin.
- No. 4. People, probably schoolchildren, had stolen crops from his garden. His anger brought him to move to another lineage/village.
- No. 5. He was afraid because of the many deaths in Kanggim. He moved to Kawangtet to live with a brother who already lived there.
- No. 6. He was also afraid of the many deaths and went to live with his wife's kin.
- No. 7. He was an adopted son of the person mentioned under no. 6, and had recently married.
- No. 8. He had lived in Kawangtet for a long time, because he had been adopted there.

In 1954 the Muyu had already been living in official villages under

government influence for many years. Nevertheless, I suppose that the Muyu migrated to other lineages for more or less the same reasons also in pre-governmental times. These examples give an indication of what happened in those times. Because of the institution of personal retaliation and the methods used to find the culprit, suspicion could fall on nearly all lineage members. And even though a person might not yet be a suspect, he himself might think that other people suspected him and so become afraid of retaliation. In order to prevent possible actions against him, he could migrate to another lineage. No. 1. may be an example of this kind of reasoning.

The examples given above deal with people who migrated within the existing 'Muyu area'. That means, they went to relatives living in dwelling places of lineages within this area. Two other forms of migration are to be mentioned in this context. First, migration to relatives living in the areas of other tribes, e.g., Mandobo or Ninggerum. This is actually not quite so different from women moving to the areas of other tribes because of their marriage. The other form of migration is that to areas where no other people lived or from which other people could be pushed out. This form of migration is also of interest in connection with the question of whether the Muyu migrated from the Central Highlands to the south.

In 1954 it appeared that individual persons, families and lineages had migrated from the villages of the southeastern part of the Muyu area to an area along the Fly river. At the time of migration, this area was not yet under the influence of the administrations of The Netherlands and Australia. After 1950 they intensified their influence and border-crossing migration was discouraged. Though the migration data were from the time the Dutch had already opened a post in the Muyu area, the reasons for migration were often the same as before. For example, three lineages originally living in the village of Metomka lived in the Fly river area. In the late 1930's a number of people from those lineages migrated to that area because of illnesses in Metomka. A second wave of migration took place in 1948. This was because there was a conflict between inhabitants of Metomka and people of the Fly area who were not under the control of the Administration. The inhabitants of Metomka feared that these people would take revenge. And nearly the whole village fled to another part of the Fly area when they heard a rumour that their enemies had applied *um*, a type of sorcery with which all the inhabitants of a settlement could be killed. The Muyu had no knowledge of this sorcery, but supposed that the people living in the Fly area did. After some time most of the inhabitants returned to Metomka. The three lineages mentioned earlier, however, stayed behind.

Swadling (1983:23) also writes about the migration of Muyu into Papua New Guinea territory, viz.:

'About 1915 some Muyu (Kagai'ip) who are Lowland Ok, advanced southeastwards towards Lake Murray onto land previously occupied by the Aekyom, North Boazi and Kuini language speakers (Baker 1954-5; Humphreys 1958-9). Today these Muyu are known as the Yonggom. This advance of the Yonggom may explain why some Aekyom got separated from the rest of their group and came to be settled in two villages on the banks of the lower Fly.'

Swadling sees this as an example of certain historical trends suggesting that the dispersal of people in the mountains and the lowlands who have linguistic and cultural links 'was probably from the mountains to the lowlands and not vice versa . . . a southward movement [of the Muyu, J.W.S.] was still taking place'.

This meant that they migrated to areas where few or no other people lived. Especially in the southeastern and southern areas bordering on the Muyu area, there were few or no inhabitants. This gave the Muyu opportunities to migrate. My impression was that the direction of territorial expansion of the Muyu was south- and southeastward. West of them lived the Mandobo and northeast the Ninggerum. The Muyu did not fight territorial wars with their neighbours. They tried to maintain trade relations with them. They only waged war against those whom they suspected of sorcery or who had openly killed one of their close relatives. Before the Administration extended its control over the people in the Merauke subdivision, the southern part of what later became the Muyu subdivision was probably a dangerous area to live in because of the headhunting raids of the Marind. This is possibly why there was a sizeable no-man's-land there.

The origins of two lineages of the village of Kawangtet also suggest south- and southeastward migration. The ancestor of the lineage of Kawangtet-Okkibitan came from the village of Katanam, 25 km. northwest of Kawangtet. When this happened, other Muyu lineages were already living in the Kawangtet area. Thus we found in Kawangtet also the lineage of Ruktem-Kay. The word *kay* means 'true', indicating that this lineage originally belonged to the lineage of Minip, one of the lineages in Kawangtet. The ancestors of Kawangtet-Okkibitan suffered a shortage of sago palms and tried to find a new sago palm area. The opportunity arose when two *mom* (MoBr) of Minip needed care because of their age. The ancestors of Kawangtet-Okkibitan provided all their needs, for instance by building them a house. After their *mom* died, they claimed their *mom*'s land because of all the expenses they had made.

The northern part of the Muyu region, at least the area between Ninati and Ihyan, was rather densely populated, viz. 17 people to the square km. as compared with 8 people to the square km. in the area between Mindiptana and Ihyan, and 3 for the subdivision as a whole. Seen from the perspective of the population density in the different parts

of the Muyu region, a south- and southeastward trend in Muyu migration may be expected. That the Muyu seem culturally closely related to the mountain people of the Iwur region and the Sibil valley provides further support for the thesis of Pouwer and others that there was a migratory movement from the Highlands to the midaltitude fringe areas. Other 'historical' data in support of this thesis are not available, but the above-indicated facts of mobility and migration in Muyu culture make this thesis plausible. Moreover, the continuing migration of Muyu after the establishment of contacts with Indonesian and European peoples seem also to support this thesis.

However, to complicate matters there is the relationship which also exists between the Muyu and Mandobo peoples (cf. Boelaars 1970). Though there are resemblances between the sound systems and the vocabularies of the Mandobo and the Muyu language, the similarities between the Mandobo and Awyu languages are much greater. Especially the grammatical systems of these languages have many aspects in common, whereas the system of the Muyu language greatly differs from that of the Mandobo language. Drabbe called the Mandobo language a dialect of the Awyu language (Boelaars 1970:25). These kinds of difference between these languages indicate that the Mandobo originally had closer relations with the Awyu than with the Muyu. The conclusion may then be that the above thesis can still be maintained.

In connection with this point I would make the following observation. My impression is that the Mandobo culture is influenced more by Muyu culture than vice versa. Probably the culture complex of shell money, bride prices and an indirect exchange of women is of Muyu origin and was adopted by the Mandobo. The Muyu area might be described as a culture centre, from which the cultures of neighbouring people were influenced and culture traits were diffused. Welsch also considers Muyu as such as a culture centre for the Ninggerum people (pers. com. 1985).

Mobility and migration in the contact situation, after increasing influence of the Administration

More intensive contacts with the wider world arose when bird of paradise hunters penetrated into the Muyu area from Merauke between 1914 and 1926. Chinese and Indonesian hunters had peaceful contacts with the Muyu, unless the hunters harmed their property or violated the rights to women. The existing pattern of mobility was expanded in the sense that many Muyu, especially young men, accompanied the hunters on their expeditions in the Muyu area. In return, they received compensation in the form of modern goods, particularly axes and knives.

Not much later the opportunities for mobility of the Muyu were expanded by the founding of Tanah Merah due to the establishment of the internment camp Upper Digul in 1927. Military patrols from Tanah Merah were sent into the Muyu region as early as 1927. The Muyu also

quickly gravitated toward Tanah Merah. The founding of Tanah Merah in 1927, under the Pax Neerlandica in 1927, intensified, the opportunities for mobility increased, too. The Administration of Tanah Merah, which was preceded by the Dutch East India Company of the Sacred Heart then the Dutch East India Company subdivision, with Mindiptana, Mindiptana villages improved with the establishment of the Administration. Villages were connected by footpaths to adjoining villages, and the people, as beasts of burden, began to migrate. In 1949. In 1955-6 a road opened up between Mindiptana and Tanah Merah, as they recognized the area. These footpaths and the roads had this effect, considered safe.

They also increased the mobility of young Muyu accompanied by their parents to Merauke. The missionaries sent young Muyu and put them in the village head of Tanah Merah school, but had left because of the situation.

The next opportunity for mobility was by the pacified area of the Tanah Merah part of this subdivision, in 1927. Many of Digul people were found to be so that they had probably been involved in conflicts. The old situation reflected in the way they cut down the trees were cut down and the houses because of all the trees had been dug. The houses were built which had been cut at the top.

Van Baal (1938:61) found three of these settlements, the name Digul people, which are *different tribes, probably* (pers. com. 24-11-1986) some of the inhabitants had relatives in Tanah Merah. Baal's data make it probable that the settlers of Tanah Merah territory (cf. Swadling 1970).

The founding of Tanah Merah

eastward trend in Muyu migration seem culturally closely related to the Sibil valley provides evidence and others that there was a migration to the midaltitude fringe areas. This thesis is not available, but the migration in Muyu culture makes continuing migration of Muyu after Indonesian and European peoples

is the relationship which also exists between the two peoples (cf. Boelaars 1970). Between the sound systems and the Muyu language, the similarities are much greater. Especially the languages have many aspects in common. Muyu language greatly differs from the Mandobo language (cf. Boelaars 1970:25). These kinds of differences show that the Mandobo originally had a different relationship with the Muyu. The conclusion may be maintained.

make the following observation. Muyu culture is influenced more by Muyu culture complex of shell money, exchange of women is of Muyu origin and the Muyu area might be described as a result of neighbouring people were influenced. Welsch also considers Muyu as a Merum people (pers. com. 1985).

Migration, after increasing influence

Mer world arose when bird of paradise hunters from Merauke between the Muyu area from Merauke between bird of paradise hunters had peaceful contacts and their property or violated the territory. If mobility was expanded in the Muyu area, men, accompanied the hunters in return, they received compensation in the form of axes and knives.

For mobility of the Muyu were expanded due to the establishment of Tanah Merah in 1927. Military patrols from Tanah Merah as early as 1927. The Muyu also

quickly gravitated towards Tanah Merah in order to sell their products. The founding of Tanah Merah was the beginning of the establishment of the Pax Neerlandica in the Muyu region. As this was expanded and intensified, the opportunities for mobility within the Muyu area itself increased, too. The Administration opened a post at Ninati in 1935, which was preceded by the establishment of a mission post of the Order of the Sacred Heart there in 1933. In 1955 the Muyu region became a subdivision, with Mindiptana as capital. Communications between villages improved with the increasing interference in Muyu society by the Administration. Villages were forced to maintain and improve the footpaths to adjoining villages. A 40-km. road for horses, especially used as beasts of burden, between Mindiptana and Ninati was opened in 1949. In 1955-6 a road of 40 km. for cars and small trucks was constructed between Mindiptana and Woropko. Muyu helped construct both roads, as they recognized their importance for the development of the area. These footpaths and roads increased Muyu mobility. Particularly the roads had this effect, since they were frequently used and hence were considered safe.

They also increased the opportunities for migration. First, especially young Muyu accompanied bird of paradise hunters when they returned to Merauke. The missionaries in Merauke tried to take hold of these young Muyu and put them in the Mission school. One of my informants, then the village head of Kawangtet, told me that he had been to such a school, but had left because he had been beaten too often.

The next opportunity for migration in the new situation was provided by the pacified area of the later subdivision of Merauke. In the northern part of this subdivision, namely the area of Muting, several settlements of Digul people were found in the 1930's. Van Baal (1938:42) wrote that they had probably migrated from their original area because of conflicts. The old situation of insecurity because of continuous wars was reflected in the way they lived. Around the houses in the settlements all the trees were cut down but not removed. It was difficult to reach the houses because of all these trunks, under which here and there traps had been dug. The houses were built at a height of about 10 metres on trees which had been cut at that height.

Van Baal (1938:61) gives figures from the 1937 census relating to three of these settlements, with a total of 784 inhabitants. He used the name Digul people, which means that they could have belonged to different tribes, probably Mandobo, Muyu and Jair. In his opinion (pers. com. 24-11-1986) some of the villages were settled by Muyu, since the inhabitants had relatives in Merauke who were Muyu. Moreover, Van Baal's data make it probable indeed that there were Muyu among these settlers. It shows how the Muyu used new opportunities to expand their territory (cf. Swadling 1983:23).

The founding of Tanah Merah provided another opportunity for

migration. Young Muyu became servants of government officials, military men or the exiles. Some accompanied their employers when they went on leave or were transferred elsewhere in Indonesia. The village head of Kawangtut had accompanied his employer to Ambon. There he had started working for a contractor and had visited several islands of the Moluccas in that capacity. No data are available on the number of Muyu who made use of these opportunities at that time. In the 1950's a number of Muyu had settled in Tanah Merah. Some of them had stayed in the prison there for some time and preferred not to return to the Muyu area, probably still fearing revenge. In 1956, 19 Muyu were registered as labourers and 21 were policemen, compared with 8 Mappi, 7 Mandobo and 6 Jair/Awyu.

Merauke, as the capital of the Residency of South New Guinea, attracted many Muyu because of all the 'wealth' there and because they could travel to Merauke on their own, partly walking the 300 km and partly using canoes or rafts. They could thus also return on their own, when necessary. As was mentioned above, Muyu were already living in or near Merauke in the 1930's. Probably the Muyu settlement near Merauke grew slowly. In 1954 there was a Muyu village near Merauke, named Klapalima - Five Coconut Palms -, with 464 inhabitants; 35 men were living there with their wives (36) and children (55, of whom 5 boys and 7 girls were adopted); 328 men and 2 women were unmarried - of these, some had adopted children (5 boys and 3 girls) with them. The Muyu village had 95 houses. Muyu played an important role in Merauke at that time. They were the most important group of labourers for the Department of Buildings and Roads. They were highly valued as servants. Further, they sold their products, such as vegetables, timber, *gaba-gaba*, *atap*², meat and fish, at the Merauke market. In 1954 the Administration tried to put an end to the migration of Muyu to Merauke, because it felt that too many Muyu left their villages, while too many settled in Merauke, with problems in both areas as a result.

Also the exploration and exploitation of oil gave the Muyu opportunities for migration. The oil company (NNGPM) recruited labourers for 1½ years' work in Sorong, about 1200 kilometres away on the west coast of the Bird's Head, in several regions of New Guinea every year. In 1956, 289 Muyu and Ninggerum were working on such a contract, over against 76 Mandobo. They were highly valued by the oil company, which actually wanted more Muyu contract workers. In 1953, 44 unmarried Muyu were living in Sorong, of whom 18 had arrived in 1949, 10 in 1950, 2 in 1951, and 14 in 1952. Twenty-four of them were working for the oil company, 3 for the Administration, 15 for private contractors, and 2 as servants.

² *Gaba-gaba* are the ribs, and *atap* the leaves of the sago palm, used for the walls and roofs of houses and buildings respectively.

In May 1956 a recruit of 100 Muyu to work in Merauke was more than the 100 to be recruited in the other regions, which was in agreement with the recruitment.

Since 1954 there had been a large influx of Muyu, especially in the capital, Merauke, where many houses had been constructed. They had come from other villages. Some were working and living in Merauke, some were living there with their families. Besides these labourers, there were also living in Merauke the Administration, the Mission, the military, and the police. In 1956.

All these data show the importance of mobility and migration. In other regions in South New Guinea the same experiences in migration were conducted in 1955 we find

Table showing the number of Muyu in the South New Guinea Residency

	Muyu
Total population of subdivision	17,000
Labourers working outside their own subdivision	6,000

Probably the figure 6000 is the actual number was about 498 labourers coming from that subdivision. This means that about 7% of the Muyu labourers from the Muyu subdivision.

In addition to, or as a result of, the mobility and migration there was a remarkable inclination to

vants of government officials, accompanied their employers when and elsewhere in Indonesia. The accompanied his employer to Ambon. Contractor and had visited several y. No data are available on the opportunities at that time. In the in Tanah Merah. Some of them time and preferred not to return reavege. In 1956, 19 Muyu were cemen, compared with 8 Mappi,

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the sago palm, used for the walls and roofs

In May 1956 a recruiting organization in Hollandia was allowed to recruit 100 Muyu to work for one year in Hollandia. Many more Muyu than the 100 to be recruited wanted to migrate to Hollandia at that time, which was in agreement with the oil company's experience with recruitment.

Since 1954 there had been new developments in the Muyu area, and especially in the capital, Mindiptana; many new houses and buildings had been constructed. These activities had attracted many Muyu labourers from other villages. So at the beginning of 1957, 55 male villagers were working and living in Mindiptana; 47 of them were married and living there with their families. The total number of this group was 180. Besides these labourers, a number of Muyu employees of the Administration, the Mission, the Chinese store, and the households of foreigners were also living in Mindiptana; these can be estimated at 110 people in 1956.

All these data show that the Muyu made eager use of opportunities for mobility and migration. This is a remarkable fact when compared with other regions in South New Guinea, whose inhabitants had more or less the same experiences in their contacts with the foreigners. In a survey conducted in 1955 we find the following data (Schoorl 1957:222):

Table showing the numbers of migrant workers in the South New Guinea Residency

	Subdivision			
	Muyu	Mappi	Upper Digul	Merauke
Total population of subdivision	17,750	17,458	5,967	17,003
Labourers working outside their own subdivision	600	246	118	199

Probably the figure 600 for the Muyu was an underestimate, and the actual number was about 900. The reason for this higher estimate is that the recorded 498 labourers working in the subdivision of Merauke and coming from that subdivision, most probably also included Muyu labourers from the Muyu village of Klalpalima near Merauke. The above means that about 7 % of the Muyu people were working outside the Muyu subdivision.

In addition to, or as an extension of, the above-mentioned reasons for mobility and migration in the 'traditional' situation, we can explain the remarkable inclination to migration by the following phenomena:



- Muyu, young and old, listened eagerly to all the stories about the new world outside the Muyu area. They were anxious to experience all the wonderful things they heard about and to understand better the background of the new world of which they saw so little in the Muyu area.
- A married man could easily leave his family for up to 1½ years if he had prepared a garden before he left. Unmarried men usually had no obligation to work for other people. They had their own garden, and therefore could leave their settlement even more easily. Usually Muyu men did not marry before the age of about 23. Because he left school at the age of 16-18, a Muyu had about 6 to 8 years in which to wander about without any difficulty. During that period he could have pigs raised for him by kinswomen for the purpose of collecting shell money for a bride price later on. He could also send iron axes, knives and other imported goods to his family to have them sell these for cowrie shells and other valuables towards the same end.
- Up till 1954 it was very difficult to earn foreign, i.e. non-Muyu, money and to buy imported goods in Mindiptana or Tanah Merah. If one wanted to obtain these goods, migration to Sorong or Merauke was necessary.
- Muyu tried to take part in 'modern' life and to obtain what they took to be its advantages, especially material wealth and positions of power and esteem. In the Muyu area itself the opportunities for realizing ideals were too limited.

The Muyu themselves imputed this migration, at least till 1954, to the lack of opportunities to obtain foreign money and imported goods in the Muyu region and to the many deaths (due to sorcery) in their region. They wanted their region opened up by means of the construction of urban centres, opportunities to earn foreign money, and a reduction of the many deaths.

Conclusions

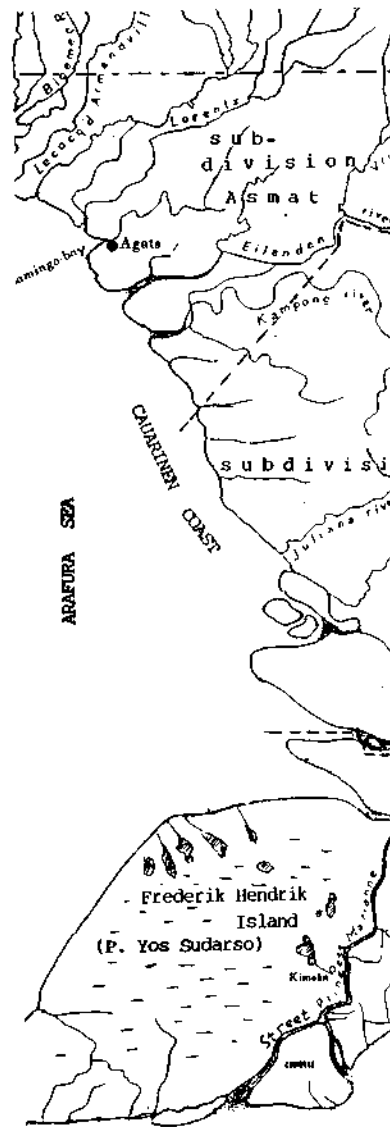
- Mobility was a dominant and salient feature of traditional Muyu culture.
- Migration, related to this mobility, was also a feature of the traditional culture. Several forms of migration can be distinguished:
 - * migration of women to other lineages because of their marriage;
 - * migration of men to other lineages because of conflicts within their own lineage or because of the opportunity to obtain new areas of sago or gardens from their next of kin;
 - * migration of men or families to new, 'open' areas because of conflicts and fear of sorcery or enemy attacks.
- Related to the first conclusion, an original migratory movement of Muyu people from the Central Highlands area is quite likely. This kind of migration is also probable in view of the close relations with the people in the northern area.

- Considering the similarities and the differences between the languages of the Mandobo, Muyu and Awyu peoples, we may suppose that the Mandobo and the Awyu are more closely related than the Mandobo and the Muyu. This supports the thesis that relationships of the Muyu with other people are most likely with their northerly neighbours.
- Certainly more research, focusing especially on relationships between the peoples neighbouring the Muyu, is necessary for us to reach more definite conclusions.
- In the contact situation the salient feature of mobility played an important role in the remarkable scale of the migration of the Muyu people. Apparently the Muyu were eager to make use of the opportunities for migration created by the new situation.
- The comparatively high Muyu migration figures were undoubtedly connected with the high degree of mobility in Muyu society. But on the other hand, the Muyu were also looking for better opportunities to earn foreign money and to obtain imported goods than were available in the Muyu area till at least 1954.
- If new opportunities to earn money and to obtain goods in the Muyu area itself would have been created, the inclination to migrate would have been predictably lower. However, mobility and migration would still have played an important role under those circumstances.

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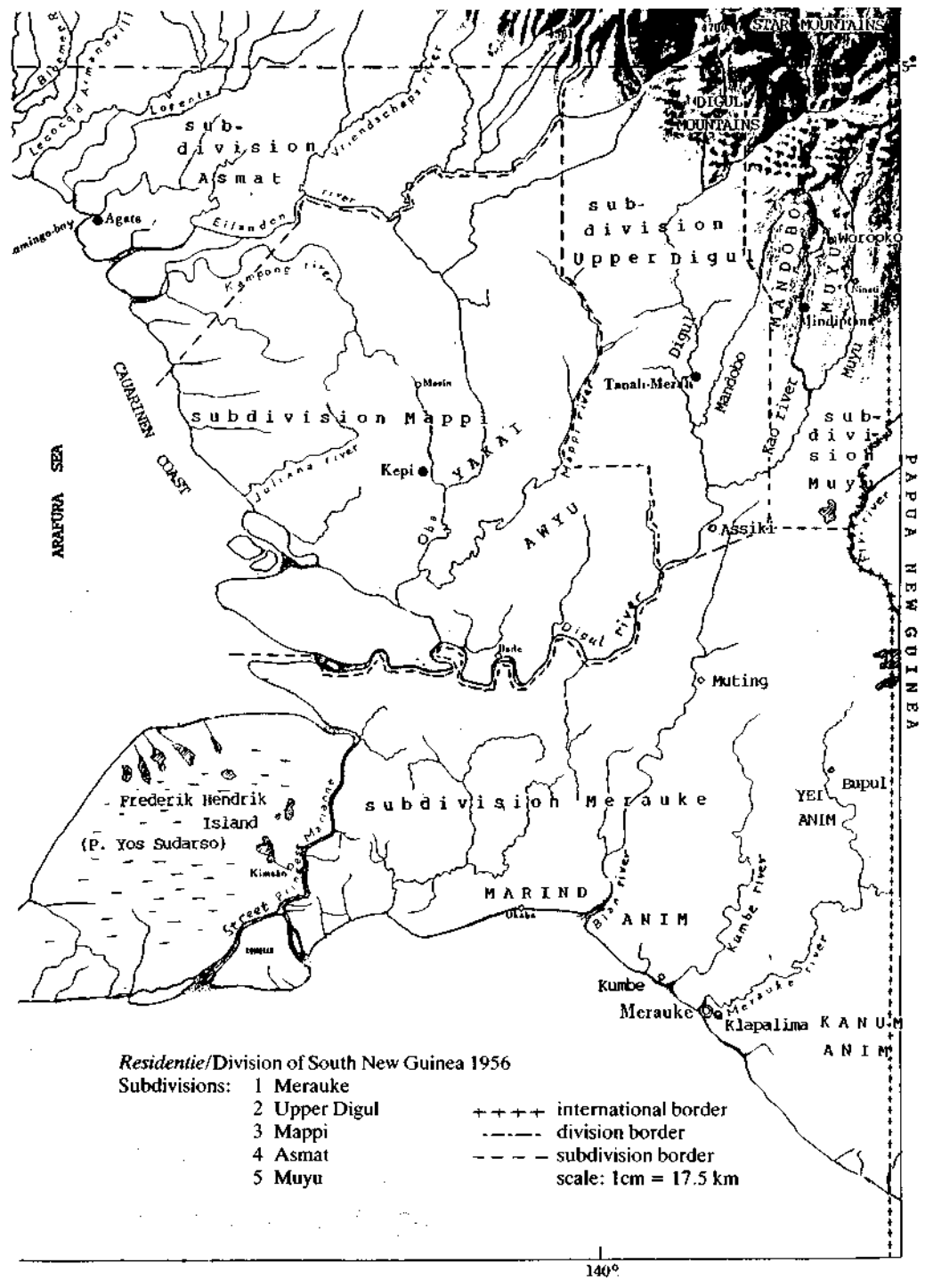
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 3 Mappi
 4 Asmat
 5 Muyu

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Residentie/Division of South New Guinea 1956

- Subdivisions: 1 Merauke
 - 2 Upper Digul
 - 3 Mappi
 - 4 Asmat
 - 5 Muyu
- ++++ international border
 - division border
 - - - - subdivision border
 - scale: 1cm = 17.5 km

